1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

609 people kept their distance, and among them some pithy proverbs were spoken to bear upon the shortcomings of the white man. One or two of them turned to repeat to the dead what had been said, and there was great laughter. Sedefo [775] came to assure us that the dead man liked it very much. For the dead, it appeared, were especially susceptible to humor and to exceptional occasions.

764 About us, or edging their way toward us, were the 298 younger men in their ceremonial dress, the toga-like cloth covering their bodies, but leaving one shoulder bared for respect, and the women in their knee-length *pangi*, or [301] cloths, hanging from the waist, and their shining brass rings reaching from wrist to elbow and from ankle halfway up to the knee. Among the dancers, but standing somewhat [534] aloof, could be seen a man or woman with seed rattles about the ankles. These were the fine dancers. Of them our informant had spoken when he said, "They dance well at Gankwe."

764 Carved stools were placed for us facing the coffin a little [358] to the left of the singers, where we could best see the danc- 533 ing. One or two lanterns were moved to give us better light. The drummers, who had not left their places, took up the rhythm again—one of the women had us know that the spirit of the dead man had communicated to the spirits of the drummers that he wanted to see the dancing resumed. The singing began—a woman's falsetto voice and a chorus; the hand clapping of the singers and bystanders emphasized the basic rhythm. It was slow at first, then quickened, and the dancing became more animated.

"They dance seketi," whispered our friends. "Later they will dance awasa."

764 The dancing was confined to a comparatively small space. 535 It began with a barely perceptible motion of the feet of the dancers to the rhythm of the drums and the hand clapping. Then the feet began to execute figures in place, without leaving the ground, the arms hanging loosely at the side. This was continued for some time, until, arms flexed and held rigid at the elbow, and knees bent but rigid, too, the

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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A Gankwe dancer.

[Facing P. 8]

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Saramacca

gratulate the dancer, while another had taken her place in the dance, only to be brought to herself again when her dancing had become so abandoned that there was danger of falling or tripping. For it is always a bad thing for one's *akra*—soul—to fall from exhaustion or even to trip while dancing, and it would have been especially dangerous to have fallen with the spirit of the dead so close.

As time passed, figures were seen edging away into the darkness. The knot of dancers thinned. Now there were but two young women dancing. They wore identical cloths of a new material, a pattern resembling the cloth over the coffin. They were related to the dead man. When all were wearied, they had to go on dancing. . . . Dawn would not be long in coming.

3

We knew that it would not be long before the spirit of the dead would be called upon to tell his family, fellow villagers, and clansmen how death had come upon him. For, in the Guiana bush, except for the very old, there is little natural dying. The deceased has been killed either by the gods whom he has offended or by the black magic of a powerful enemy, and it is of this which he must tell before his burial. When Sedefo came to our camp the next afternoon, we asked him about the "carrying of the corpse," as the ceremony is called. We told him that his people in Africa—for the Bush Negroes know that their origins are African—also asked the spirit of the dead why death had come upon him, and we plied him with questions. What would they do to be sure the answer was right? Who would ask the questions? When would they establish the facts of the killing? And might we come and see?

There would be no trouble, he told us amiably enough. The spirits of the dead liked attention, and for the *Bakra*—the white man—to come so often to his brother's bier was a compliment. We could return with him, but we must make haste—and it was evident that important ceremonies were about to take place.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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We watched Sedefo and his pole-man adjust their ceremonial top cloths, and, paddles in hand, start up the path, as we joined Kasanya and the other men who were examining the boats. Kasanya, an excellent woodworker himself, ran his hands over the sides of the dugouts much as though he were touching things which held life inside them.

"There is much work making a boat. One the size of this needs cunning. It isn't anybody can do it. First the bark is cut away. Then you outline a space here on top, and with your machete you cut away inside. When you have done this, it is only the beginning."

He led us to just such a log, and then to another on which burning had been done. "You can only burn very little at a time, and you must fire carefully, carefully. You make a small fire and char the wood—you make a fire, and quench it, make a fire and quench it. So it is done. Then you take wet leaves and put them into the boat, and on the leaves you place live coals so that the steam can soften the grain of the wood. When the wood is softened, it can be forced into shape. Sticks are wedged in to make the opening hold. Slowly the log begins to have the lines of a boat."

But all this we were made to see called for the most exacting patience as well as skill, for any misjudged pressure might split the wood.

"Many moons come up and die before a log is fashioned into a boat, and even then, there is still the carving to be done on stern and prow; the crosspieces to be put in, the sides built up. It is not a thing a child undertakes, Bak'a."

Now Bayo, who had listened attentively to Kasanya's explanation of how boats were made, found a pretext to bring us back to the water, and soon he took up the talk of boats.

"Boats are like people. See, this we call a head. At the other end are the buttocks. Here are the ribs, here inside the belly. The crosspieces are the knees. Feet? Ma' Neng'e! What would a boat want with feet?"

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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123 shoulders and arms glisten, or otherwise to make themselves
[302] presentable for the reception. There was nothing to do but to keep close to a tree-trunk, water dripping from naked body and the strip of twisted loin cloth, teeth chattering in the sudden chill brought on by the storm.

The head of Sungi was suddenly thrust inside our boat-tent.

"I saw the Granman. He says the storm is passing. You are to come to him as you are. It is best so. Waiting here is cold."

Turning, he ordered the paddlers to their places, and almost before the paddles were in motion, the guns began to fire.

"The Granman knows the time it takes to give a message. The Granman knows everything," said Bayo in great
[203] admiration, as the guns saluted.

Three shots, and three more. Two shots, an interval, and another coming faintly. Then a short silence, and once more the guns, in clusters of three, but now sounding from several directions.

As we rounded the bend of the island the farther bank was alive with people. The rain had subsided to a drizzle. Across the strip of water which separated us from the shore we could see men and women and children standing about, the women with large food trays inverted over their heads to protect their finery. But the men, disdaining such aids, stood in the rain and looked on with undisguised curiosity. Boats joined ours from up and down the river. With the sound of the guns came hallooing, shrill cries which were the women's expression of enthusiasm, actual or ceremonial.

● 292 554 622 As we watched, several figures appeared on the high bank, the others making way for them. Two of the men were not dressed in the colored toga-like cloths that were worn by the others, but in coats of rich material which reached to their knees. They wore black top-hats with cockades at the side. One of these, we recognized as Chief And'u of S'ei. His coat was of deep crimson, bordered in blue, and his companion's a vivid yellow. Both of these men carried

1t Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Both of These men Carried

long wands of office, of black wood topped with silver knobs. About their necks were heavy silver chains, and from each chain was suspended a large silver crescent.

Another man stood near them to one side. He wore a long coat of white edged with scarlet and blue. He carried no stick, and wore no insignia. On his head, over a white kerchief wound tightly about the head and caught up in the back, was a white sun helmet. Above his head, held by one of the younger men who accompanied him, was an umbrella, the highest emblem of rank. It betokened that this man was Moana Yankuso, Granman of the Saramacca people.

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Kasanya was first out of the boat when the dugouts were brought to shore, and after him came Bibifo. Sedefo and Asikanu remained with the younger men, waiting for the Granman to indicate that he wished to receive them. Only men of rank and elderly members of his own clan would go at this time to speak to the headman, who stood there watching the boats.

"We came, G'aman," we heard Kasanya say, "and we brought the Bak'a." Two or three low-voiced sentences followed, and then the conversation was terminated by the elderly functionary in the yellow coat, who came down to our boat.

"I greet you in the name of the G'aman, Bak'a," he announced. "The G'aman himself awaits you. Come with me."

As we stepped out of the boat, the hallooing of the women and the shouts of the children, which had stopped when the paddlers addressed the Granman, began once again, and, as an underlying voice, the salutes from the shotgun were to be heard. The old man, shifting his wand of office to his left hand, now carefully helped first the one, then the other out of the boat and, offering his arm to each in turn, led us to the top of the steep rise, until we were face to face with the Granman. It would have been unlucky had we lost our footing at this moment of welcome. This chieftain was

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

AT THE COURT OF THE GRANMAN

Above the door was a shelf which did not quite reach the entire width of the wall, and on this shelf were the council benches, which the Granman supplied to the visiting chiefs. These benches were small, low, and as little ornamented with carvings as the work stools used by the women. But on the sides symbols were incised, and at least two of them we were able to identify as clan emblems. One of these had the conventionalized patterning of the hatchet, the emblem of the Granman's clan, and another a flower which is associated with the people from whose group come the principal diviners. The tops of these simple stools sometimes had inlays of dark wood, but whether their outlines were of ritualistic importance or not, no one would say.

From the beams hung several umbrellas, still inside the wrappings in which they had come from the white man's city, and a wickless metal lamp, into whose chains envelopes were inserted. These envelopes contained letters received by the Granman which awaited the coming of the missionary to be read, or letters which had already been read, and were there to add color to the official scene.

There were also other *Bakra sani*—white man's things—in the house. A canvas folding chair which filled almost an entire wall stood against the slats beside which, on the outside, were the earthen jars. This was for the Granman. He sat in it with the majesty of an emperor. No one ever approached it too closely, and we were never invited to take our ease in it when the Granman was in his own house.

In addition, there was a table in the center of the room, covered with a red and black plaid cloth from the city, and two straight-back chairs. On the table stood an alarm clock which was set for the noncommittal hour of twelve and a glass decanter filled with rum.

Chief And'u was the first to join us inside.

"It is fine here at the G'aman's."

"Yes, it is a fine house. And you, And'u, you look well in your coat. Is it when you are with the Granman that you dress so?"

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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622 292 "It is the coat of a chief. All chiefs wear these coats At the G'aman's we wear the best we have."

[293] We looked at his silver-topped wand of office. "Do all chiefs carry these?" we asked.

"Not every chief has a stick like mine. And all chiefs do not have one of these." He pointed to the crescent of silver which hung from a chain about his neck.

"It is beautiful."

"Ya-hai. And it's old."

Embossed on the silver plaque were the arms of Holland, richly worked.

622 648 293 643 "After the time of running away, when the fighting was over between our ancestors and the whites, these were given to us, and the wands of office. But not all chiefs have their wands from the white man. Some have the ones we call 'free sticks.' A man who has a 'free stick' is not a chief for the white man, but we know that he is a chief."

He added that the whites had made an agreement with the escaped Negroes that if they would no longer raid the plantations and carry away slaves with them they would be considered free men in their bush, under the white man's government. Since that time the Bush Negro Granman and certain of the village chiefs had had official recognition, and as a token of this each of them had been given a uniform, a [292] high hat, a crescent with the arms of Holland worked on it, a silver-headed staff, and an annual stipend.

"The chiefs who have 'free sticks,' the white man does not pay."

576 As we spoke of these things, we were interrupted from time to time by the noiseless brushing aside of the cloth which hung above the door, and the entrance of one of our men, or a man of the Granman's village, who brought in our canisters and hammocks. With not even a glance in our direction, they would leave as noiselessly and return to the river. Through the slatted side walls we could hear the sounds of such activity as we had not thought possible in the tropics.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

623 643 [291] Our paddlers rose at once and left the council house. A moment later And'u entered, followed by a group of elders with closely drawn kerchiefs covering their heads. Among these only Kasanya and Bibifo were known to us. Kasanya brought his bench close to ours and moved it yet closer, with a gesture of the head that he wanted to continue the intimacy of our ten days' journey together.

"White man," he said, leaning over and whispering, "call your man from the city. At a krutu a man has someone to speak for him. So we do here."

576 623 643 And so, we soon saw, it was. Address in the council of the Saramacca people was always by indirection. If the Granman wished to speak to one of his chiefs, then he gave his message through another chief, though the man for whom the words were intended might be closer to him or more clearly in view.

643 623 [292] 302 291 Others came in, until the room was half filled when the Granman entered. Today he wore a printed red and black loose coat of knee length, and over it the ceremonial cloth worn by men here in the bush, so that where other men's bare shoulders showed was the sleeve of his coat. On his head were both kerchief and sun helmet. The men were anointed with oil, and many of them wore the jaguar's tooth obia. The last to enter was a man who was well past middle age, and he was followed by the young *obiaman* from S'ei. Both of these men wore the cloths required of men when not at work, but they were not so uncreased, or so new. Nor were their bodies bright with oil. The older man had several broad stripes of white clay from wrist to shoulder of his right arm, and from knee to pelvis on the inner left thigh. Slung from one shoulder and reaching across to the opposite thigh was a white obia made of native fiber, and on his neck were several others. To these [289] obias were added iron bands on his arms, while below his right knee and at the ankle of his right foot were other obias made of fiber and twisted black thread.

623 The men we knew greeted us as they took down their benches and found places against the wall farthest from the

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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But Sedefo, splendid actor that he was, betrayed in no way that he was aware of his friend's discomfiture, except that his interpolations became more and more spirited, balancing in the intensity of his voice the formality of the Granman's speech.

"True, true!" he said, with excitement.

"By Ando, G'ama'!"

When the tale was finished, the Granman became reminiscent. In his youth he had been like the rest. What did it mean to be a man and not to assert one's manhood when a handsome woman was to be had? He was on the Marowyne then. Did they want to beat him? He had said, "Very well." As many as wished could come at him—but one at a time.

As he spoke now, he clenched his fist and struck the table with it so that the table shook and the guns which lay underneath it rattled.

He was no longer young, but his answer to people who threatened would still be the same, he continued.

"Tell them that everywhere on the river, mati," he finished with a smile, and he cleared his throat as a signal for the bassia to come and pour out drinks for his visitors, before they left his village.

And how was their clan head who had been ailing? he asked, with friendly solicitude.

5

Granman Yankuso was telling about his great ancestors.

He looked particularly well that night. His smock-like coat was a deep blue, and over it was a print of orange and black worn toga fashion.

There was Bagida, one of the first to escape to the bush, and Dosi who made the Kasito clan, and Ajako who was a Matchau Negro, a man of the Granman's own clan, and it was he who had fought against the whites and had freed his people. There were Mother Bedu, and Mother Fakia, and the great Abini family which bore Alabi, whom the peccary had helped to freedom, so that Alabi's people, the Awana Negroes, to this day did not eat pingo.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

houses would have to be built—one in his village where they would live, and one in the provision ground for his wife to sleep in when she worked in the field.

"Must you yourself build the house, Bayo?"

"My family will help me. Making a house is hard work, too, and a man must have clever fingers for weaving the walls."

There would have to be stools, and several well-ornamented combs. A clothes beater would have to be provided for the bride, and a peanut pounding board, and one mortar and pestle at least, and food stirrers and rice trays. A cassava squeezer would have to be woven, and a sifter and grater for the roots that were made into bread. And baskets, too, he would have to weave.

"This is not all. This is only what I must make. Other things I must buy for her."

He would have to provide cloths when the wedding day came, and cloths for his mother-in-law, too. The small kerchiefs which were folded in triangular shape and were worn about the waist as the sign that a woman was married he would also have to furnish, and two large cloths, each the size of three tunics. He would have to buy an iron cooking pot, and some small fishhooks with lines, and some cups from the white man's city. He was going to give his girl a pair of earrings, and a string of beads. Then there would have to be the hammock.

Bayo laughed, "For a marriage, there must be a hammock."

There were other things he was going to buy for his girl. Brass arm and leg ornaments he would buy, since his girl was already a fine dancer.

And when all these things were bought and given, then it was time for the marriage.

"But it doesn't always happen that the marriage takes place," said Bayo. "Sometimes the girl's people do not like what the man has done. They have another krutu, and decide the man should not marry into their family."

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

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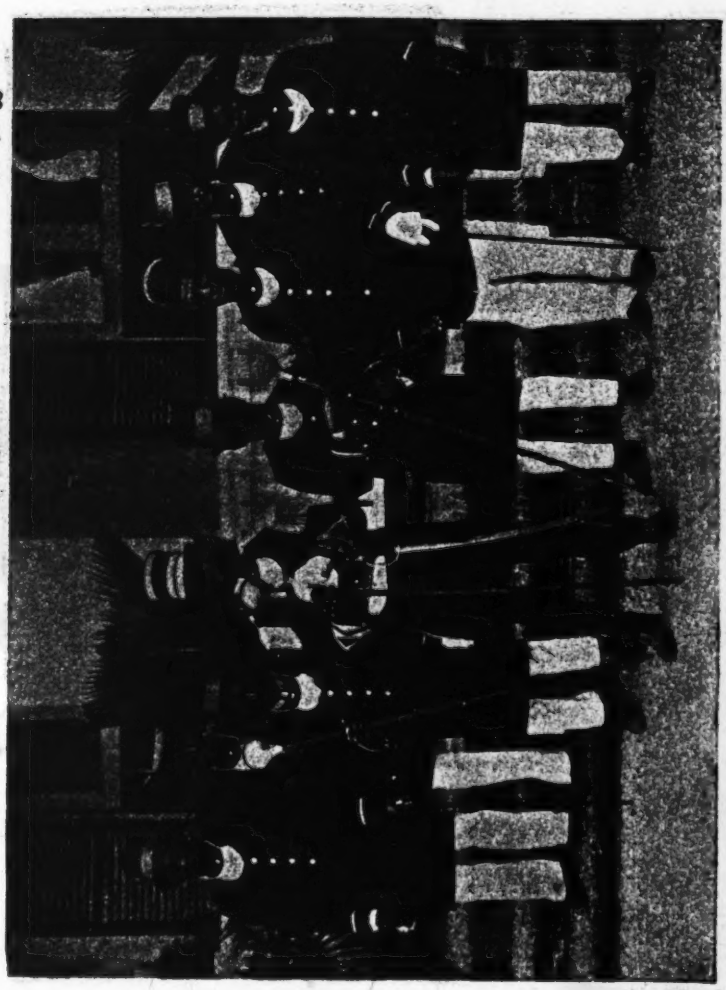

Granmans and Captains Assembled in Paramaribo for a Council with the Governor of Dutch Guiana.
Photo by Curiel

[Facing p. 102

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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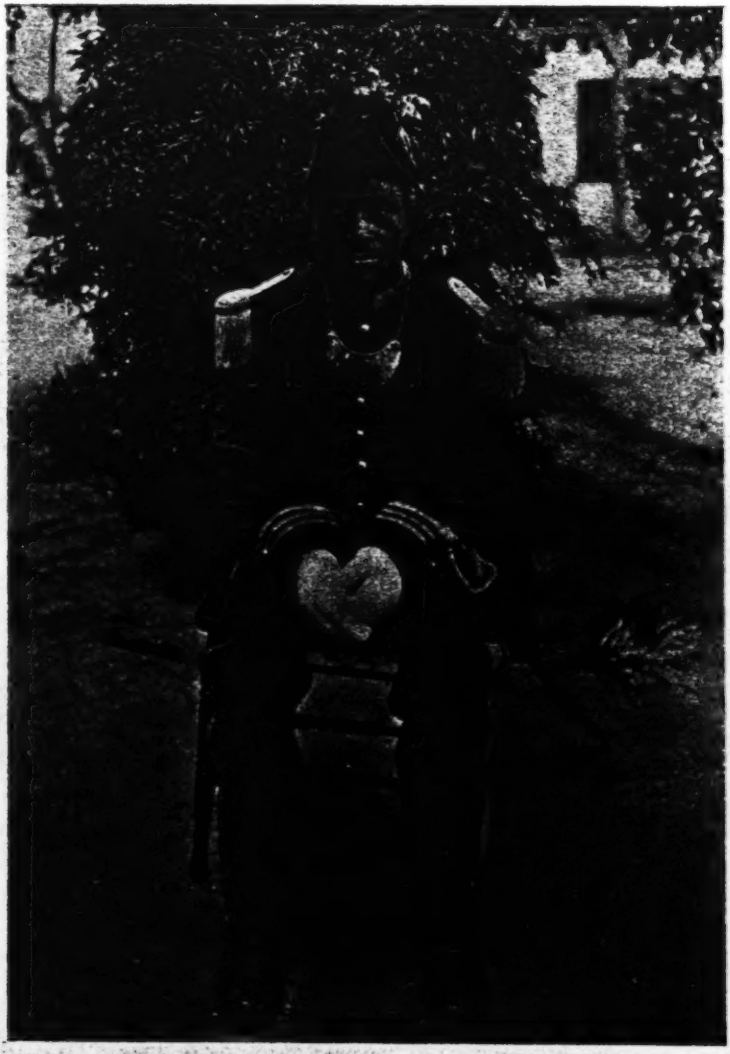

Jankoeso, Granman or King of the Saramaccaner Tribe, in Town for a Parley with the Governor.

Photo by Curiel

[Facing p. 106]

/7 cont./

101 4th. Bonnie /Boni/ Negroes, living on the river above Marowyne; [175] until 1862 they were in a state of slavery among the [567] Aucaners, but at that time, through the intervention of the government, they were released from it. Their name is supposed to be derived from a former runaway slave who had placed himself at their head.

Chapter III

Government, Laws, Administration of Justice

643 Each of these tribes, except for the Bonnie Negroes, has
● [292] a chief whom they call granman (governor); the uniform given to him by the government is a blue tunic with epaulets and a cocked hat with white plush.

Among the Aucaners the chief is called Byman, a cunning, courageous, and prudent man, around 63 years old.

The chief of the Saramaccaners is called Abram, an infirm old man who is very weak of character and has little influence.

The Mantoewari Negroes have a chief called Kalkoen, who, although aged and infirm, can nonetheless still be called firm of character.

631 /8/ Under their chief they have a certain number of captains and council members. The former are divided into bush captains, who take command in case of war, and into house or land cap- [554] tains, who deal with internal matters with the chief. The token of their prestige given to them by the government consists of a large staff with a round silver ball (drum-major's stick), on which is the Netherlands coat of arms with "Je maintiendrai."

344 They have a large open shed which serves them as court and which they call kroetoehoso (probably derived from the English "courthouse").

682 Their legislation is very limited. One who kills another is punished with death; one who poisons someone suffers death by torture, provided that substantial irrefutable proof exists. (See Chapter XI below.) If the death penalty is not appropriate, the

/27/
534 holds out the longest and is the fastest and most accurate performer
535 of the specific steps for this is cheered as the winner.

Banja or baljaar is one of the true African dances. This name is also given to the African guitar, a musical instrument formerly generally known in the colony, but now totally vanished. This dance is performed to the beat of the two drums and the
[824] kwakwa stool. For this dance the women provide themselves with a saka-saka, a toy having the shape of a great rattle and made from a calabash filled with corals or pits of the Canna indica and Canna lutea, also called viengoe by them. They turn and shake this saka-saka according to the beat of the song taken up by them, which produces a peculiarly strange sound.

Chapter XIX

Clothing, Ornaments, Tattooing

291 Their clothing is very simple. The women ordinarily wear merely a piece of colored linen or cotton strip, called bont, two ells long and one and a quarter ells wide. They wrap this around their middle and allow it to hang down below the knee joints, calling it pangi. This undergarment of the Negro women is thus named
301] after pano (Spanish) and pagne (French). As a rule they have the upper body bare, while around the neck, the wrists, and the ankles
302 they wear strings of coral, which greatly take their fancy. They usually plait the head hair into a large number of small braids and bind the ends of these with white cotton threads. Some of them wear their hair combed out, as a result of which their heads,
301 seen from a distance, resemble large mop-heads. They are very fond of blood corals, which are greatly valued among them for ornamentation.

[292] When they celebrate a festival, they also wear a large number of colored cloths of cotton or muslin around the neck, and further adorn themselves with copper and iron rings around the wrists, among which there are strings of coral in the same manner

/27 cont./

301 as the European girl wears her bracelets. On their fingers they wear a number of copper rings, sometimes doubtless up to ten; the thumb is likewise generally decorated with them.

291 /28/ As a rule the men content themselves with merely
292 a simple loincloth or belt, but if they go so far as to dress up, then they wear a broad-brimmed hat which is usually painted with various colors; around the crown they wear a wide band whose ends hang far down over the brim.

301 Around their necks they frequently wear a string of tiger's
237 teeth and the incisors and molars of wild pigs (the pakier and piengo) and of other animal species that they have caught on the hunt; they wear these same ornaments hanging from a broad band under the knee, and to them is added now and then a shell, a piece of copper, iron, lead, and so forth. Their ornaments also include parrot and West Indian raven (1) feathers and small tassels

1. Lafroe, Psittacus macao L.

made of cotton.

301 They call the last-named obias (2). Just like the women,
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2. Obia, charm. The same efficacious powers as the superstition sees in amulets and talismans are seen in this.

they wear colored cloths around the neck.

304 Like almost all tropical and African peoples, they tattoo themselves. Men, women, and children undergo this operation, and although they are set upon having this as ornamentation, they nonetheless look down upon the man decorated with many tattoos just as the European does on an effeminate dandy. There are among them those whose face and body are virtually covered with the incisions, but they are looked upon with contempt by the industrious and those most developed spiritually. They say that the former are too attached to luxury and must be lazy to waste

/73 cont./

643 That happened especially to people who, summoned to work
687 in the grand man's clearings, carried out their task with ill will.

About 1950, M..., of Papaïston village, had openly revolted against the grand man whom he had refused to conduct to Saint-Laurent. The grand man sentenced him to make a large stairway of planks, from the Boniville wharf to the entrance to the village, giving him an injunction to leave the country if he refused. M... ended by yielding and executed the large stairway which can now be seen at the Boniville wharf.

643 The grand man is constantly concerned about his prestige
648 and dignity; he is almost always dressed in the European manner
292 and in ceremonies wears an impeccable white uniform; the French
177 administration gives him a relatively large salary and, when he comes to Cayenne, he is put up in the hospital in the apartments reserved for officers.

643 To greet the grand man one does not look directly at him
[576] but places himself in profile with respect to him.

[644] The grand man has no servants (that would be contrary to
[357] the morality of the Refugee Blacks) and leads a very simple life.
[466] Still, he does not do any hard manual labor; each year he calls together a certain number of men from each lo to work in his clearings; he does not pay them, for this work is an obligation provided for by custom, but he feeds them heartily.

643 Likewise, for his traveling, he requisitions by turns as boat-
466 men two or three of his subjects. Sometimes also he requisitions women to help his wife at harvest time.

On the other hand, for all other work he may need (such as the construction of a large boat) he has to pay like everyone else and he is not given any reduction.

6:Hurault--245a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8 Boni

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Fig. 22. Offering of food to the ancestors.

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Fig. 23. Interrogation of the dead person.

764 /165 cont./ There may be 126 camisas (1) and
767 1. Pieces of cotton goods about
[439] 1.10 x 0.75 meters. These cloths are manufactured in Holland especially for the Refugee Black clientele.

15 large pieces of cloth. About 30 camisas have been taken from the dead woman's trunk; the others have been given by the people present, the near relatives each giving several, the other relatives only one.

Their work finished, the kisimã burn the shavings and
[783] scraps of board. They pass their tools through a flame to purify them of the stains of death. /166/

About 3:00 P.M. the coffin is brought into the mortuary shed by the kisimã. The kisimã, who have complete charge of this phase of the obsequies, count the pieces of cloth and divide them up. One part will be used for their pay, others for the pay of the gravediggers. Fifteen pieces of cloth and about
[765] ten ordinary camisas will be placed in the coffin. The rest will be used for clothing the widower who, during the whole period of mourning, will thus remain symbolically dependent upon the dead person; if there are any left over, they are distributed to the members of the dead person's lineage.

Placing in the Coffin. About three o'clock four of the
[292] kisimã take their places beside the coffin; they gird their loins with a camisa as the Refugee Blacks always do before carrying out a religious act. In the greatest silence they spread out the 15 large pieces of cloth inside the coffin, allowing them to fall to the ground at right and left. Next, two of them lift up the body while the others slip the coffin underneath (for the whole duration of the burial ceremonies, the body must remain at the exact place where it was put down. The coffin does not rest directly on the ground but is put on a mat through the

/166 cont./

764 The coffin is placed at the edge of the mortuary shed,
787 the front turned toward the spectators. Agodéba sits down before the front of the coffin. According to ceremony, he enters into contact with the /167/ yɔrka of the dead woman by pouring water on the ground before the coffin and calling her by
764 name. He says the same sentences several times in different
787 forms: "Thou hast lived here ... thou hast had children in this
761 village; now death has killed thee. Thou must tell us who killed thee."

[292] Two men, B... (L'Enfant Perdu, Dipélu I) and A... (Asisi-Awara Bakka) come forward, gird their loins with a camisa, and, aided by several others, lift the coffin. B..., who is of the dead woman's lineage, takes the forward position.

For about ten minutes the two bearers try to put themselves into a state of passivity permitting them to receive fitly the promptings of the dead woman; no question whatever is asked. They are seen to make contradictory movements, to go forward tilting the coffin from left to right, which means yes and no at the same time. Sometimes a sudden impulse appears to draw them far from the spectators, they are seen going from hut to hut, wheeling around, going away again.

Finally they come back. Agodéba asks: "Is it a god who struck thee down?" The answer seems to be yes. "Is it a Papa gadu, an Ampuku, a Kãntasasu?" Contradictory answers, the people present lean toward the negative.

Agodéba continues: "Is it a yɔrka who killed thee?" Confused and contradictory movements of the coffin. Agodéba begins again: "Is it a god?" Someone among those present shouts: "Don't you see that she meant yes, speaking of the yɔrka? Agodéba gets angry, takes his hat, and leaves the meeting. General hubbub. Half an hour of words, broken by various movements and sham exits, is required in order to bring him to take his place again.

6:Hurault--265a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/7a/

764
133
292
411
501

Fig. 25. The coffin is placed on board a canoe.